



**MUSLIM SOCIETY AS DEPICTED
IN THE EUROPEAN SOURCES
(17TH CENTURY)**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
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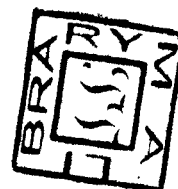
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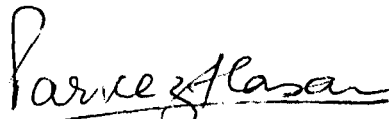
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Aligarh
 Dated;


 (PARVEZ HASAN)

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The European sources form an inseparable element of historical material supporting the edifice of Indian society during the medieval period. The European travellers, adventurers, merchants, factors, priests, missionaries, mariners etc who visited India during the Mughal period, particularly the 17th century, recorded the contemporary events, circumstances and conditions in political, social, economic, cultural and administrative topographical details, ideas and concepts, trade, flora, social norms, behaviour and etiquette and sundry other aspects of life in India. The richness, variety and profusion of the accounts of these European records add new dimensions to the story of life and civilisation in the 17th century and fill in wide lacunae in the missing links of the narrations of facts, supplement vital information to cover essential facets of the social and economic history and lend fulness of life in medieval India without European sources various facets of Indian history would have remained shady and obscure, it is with this important class of source material that we measure the multiplex nature of Indian Culture and society economic pattern and way of life.

The European renaissance had engendered the spirit of enquiry and enterprise and the expansion of commerce made

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the European nations to seek markets and lands in the East. so an outburst of activity ensued from Europe directed to venture fresh enterprises by missionaries traders and travellers.

The travellers suffered from certain handicaps by ignorance of the language, locus, customs and institutions of the country. That is why certain factors have to be taken into consideration while assessing the value and the volume of their evidence; the areas of the country they visited and the time and duration of their visit; their linguistic equipment, their opportunities and personal experiences in relation to the court and the people; and above all their education, mental equipment or powers of observation and their prejudices in all these factors count in the evaluation of their accounts and its relative importance.

Of the foreign travellers only Fitch, Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci covered practically whole of India. On the other hand Monserrate, Xavier, Terry, Hawkins, Roe and Pelsaert confined themselves to Western India and the court at Agra. Some of them were keen observers and saw the Mughal Emperor, his administration, the nobles, the court and the contemporary society from close quarters and threw flood of light upon hitherto unknown events and conditions and made deep insights. Hawkins became a Mughal Mansabdar,

Row stayed at Agra for two years and nine months; Bernier first became physician to Dara and was latter attached to Danishmand Khan; Manucci served under Dara, Raja Jai Singh, Raja Kirat Singh and Shah Alam; he carried on negotiations on behalf of the Portugese with Marathas and the Mughals, finally he served under governors, Gifford and Pitt, in Madras Terry, Coryat and Bernier picked up Persian, while Pelsaert had some knowledge of the language spoken at Agra. Hawkins conversed with Jahangir in Turkish others had to rely on interpreters.

In the accounts of these travellers, their passions, prejudices and proclivities prevented them from giving a faithful account of the India of their time, Hawkins and Row were sore at the failure of their efforts to conclude a commercial treaty with Jahangir. This disappointment vitiates much of their accounts.

Bernier was a lover of French insitutions and dubbed everything alien as despotic and oppressive. Manucci was found of back-stair gossip" and loved to relate scandals about the court. His denunciation of Hindus and Islam and of the Indian character was unjust. Most of them

considered christianity as the only true religion and the Muslims and the Hindus, they thought, deserved Hell with the exception of Bernier none tried to understand Indian religions and philosophy.

Still their account are valuable and informative in many respects. The spirit of toleration at the Mughal Court and the chronicle of several important chronicles of political events are gleaned from them. The Indian historians and chroniclers omitted many facts of customs, manners and institutions of the age considering them as commonplace but these are mentioned in detail by Europeans.

The information given by the travellers is quite varied and covers political and religious conditions and the social and economic life of the country. The Emperor and his daily life his court, court etiquette and the nobility naturally fill the pages of their accounts. But we get enough material from their accounts on political and administrative institutions. These travellers came from countries with feudal structure of society, they thought of India likewise. Since all land in their own countries was held by the King, they regarded the Mughal Emperor as the proprietor of every acre of land. "No subject in his Empire" says Terry, "had land of inheritance nor can have

other title of the Kings will . . ." Obviously this is a misstatement. In India the cultivators or the tillers of the soil have always been the owners of the land. Land revenue was merely a tax, not a rent. Land, like any other movable property, could be bought, sold mortgaged or inherited. Thus the cultivator was the defacto as well as de jure owner of the soil.

" - - - The King", observed De Laet "is the master of the whole Kingdom and gives estates at his will to his subjects or takes them away again". It was this view of the ownership of land which led the European travellers to misunderstand the nature of the "Jagirs" or assignments.

Zat and Sawar in the organisation of the Mansabdari system have similarly been misunderstood by the travellers. "The King", Bernier tells us, "himself regulates as well the effective number that each Omara is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for and usually forms the principal part of his salary". But the travellers tell us one important thing the nobility was not hereditary. There was no nobility of blood or caste.

It is with regard to the religious policy of the Mughal Emperors that we find the travellers' accounts extremely valuable. They were surprised to find that "here every man has liberty to profess his own religion freely" (Terry) and that "the grand Mughal makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other" (Valle). Christians lived and worshipped in the Empire more freely than in their own countries. Churches were built in Lahore, Agra, Cambay and Thatta. In 1610 the Christians festival was celebrated in Lahore with such pomp and show "as could not have been done more openly in a Christian country (Guerreiro). Recruitment to public services was irrespective of a man's religion (Valle). Shah Jahan, records Bernier, paid a pension of Rs.2000/- to a Brahmin at Benaras.

In regard to political events the excursions of these are disappointing, eg. the fanciful stories of Monserrate, Finch, Roe, Mundy, and Manucci about Akbar and Babur but about contemporary happenings eg., Monserrate's account of Akbar's invasion of Kabul and the account of the war of succession of Bernier and Manucci are quite useful.

The opinion which the European travellers formed of the social conditions prevailing in India is not a happy one. They speak of the gaiety, colour, pageantry, fabulous

wealth, wine, music, luxury and extravagance of the Mughal Court life and the life of the royalty and nobility. On the other hand the life of the great mass of the people lived and laboured under grinding poverty, on starvation level, half-clad and suffering under a tyrannical and oppressive government as Bernier put it. In between the rich and the poor was the middle class whose existence Bernier denies. But the commercial community and the professional classes must have formed a large middle class, affluent, frugal and enterprising.

According to the European travellers the life of the women, too, was not very happy. Widow remarriage was hardly practised even among the Muslims. Sati was considered by the Hindus as an act of Chastity. In spite of Imperial edict forbidding sati, Hawkins, Withington, Pelsaert record cases of personal intervention of Jahangir and Muslim governors to prevent sati. Muslim girls too were married very young. Plurality of wives and practised by the Muslim males. Caste system and rigours were also observed by the Muslims. The life was held in hatred. According to Baldaeus the water of the Ganges was sold not only among the Hindus. The Muslims were divided into three main groups—the sunnis, the Shias and the Sufis.

The European travellers speak of the Muslim fakirs, wandering saints, recluses etc. but they blundered in respect of festivals and religious life. The result was the fantastic and ridiculous statements they have made of Muharram, one of the most important festivals observed by the Muslims, says Van Twist "The Muslims celebrate some other annual festivals, for instance the festival of Janas and Jawnzee (Imam Hasan and Imam Husain) in commemoration of two brothers so named, servants of Muhammad and Ali, who having travelled to the coromandel coast to make pilgrimage and earn absolution, were surrounded by a multitude of heathens, gentiles and Brahmans, and besieged in a fortress where they took refuge, their water being contaminated by a lizard, which Muslims consider an exceedingly unclean animal" (Von Twist, Pelsaert and Mundy). Terry observed that the Muslims usually showed off their head "reserving only a lock on the crown for Muhammad to pull them into Heaven.

Regarding the economic condition of the records of European travellers are illuminating. They speak of Muslim merchants, agricultural crops, Muslim endowments to madrasas and mosques, industries, trade, commerce, minerals, rice, wheat, barley, millets, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, the Muslim jagirdars, Zamindars etc. India had a

favourable balance of trade in the 17th century and the Mughals encouraged that trend.

Trade and largely in the hands of the Hindus-Banias in Western India and Khatris in Northern India. Muslims preferred a military career to trade (Mandelslo) but still Bohras, Khojas and some other communities of the Muslims indulged in trade in Surat, Bharoach, Patan, Ahmedabad, Malabar and Coromondal Coasts.

The information furnished of European sources is rich, varied and extensive. It throws a flood of light on darker sides of source material but it also portrays their prejudicial biased, uncritical and garbled information mining up facts with fictions and bazar gossips. Certain aspects of the Muslim society of India are gleaned from European accounts. The accounts of certain European travellers like Manucci, Bernier, Tavernier, Row, Hawkins and Terry are particularly informative to cover a large variety and bulk of the Muslim society and the Mughal Empire in its manifold aspects.

It is thus the purpose of this dissertation to critically analyse the information provided by European sources to highlight the various aspects of the Muslim society in India during the 17th century and herein lies the significance of the study to fill in a lacunae in the studies of the Medieval Indian Muslim Society.

The work is based on account of contemporary European Travellers. Though these travellers didn't ^{give} any systematic account of the society of Muslims in Northern India, but the information is gathered by collecting and correlating the informations from here and there.

The foreign travellers accounts have been selected from those available in English. It has been kept in mind that no point of importance is left and those travellers who went on repeating the same thing, have been generally ignored. Account of those travellers has also been taken who were not immediate contemporary, but their account related to few decades earlier or later, but their information is always checked up by a comparison with the contemporary ones. These accounts are perhaps the most important sources for the study of Muslim Society in Northern India during the 17th century because they had nothing to fear like Persian historians. They fearlessly stated what they observed and what was of very general in nature.

As, a large number of foreign travellers visited India during 17th century, their accounts differed in nature of covering their area of description. They belonged to various nationalities, professions and religions. Mostly they consisted of merchants, doctors, sailors, soldiers, envoys and adventures of all descriptions. They were all educated persons and as they had full understanding of the

the prevailing condition in the country, they have thrown ample light on Indian people.

Some of the travellers left on short journals and some have given a full description and information work. They supply ample and corroborative evidence of political, social people, based on their personnel experiences.

They give us scientific and critical account of the prevailing condition including the description of standard of living of various classes of society, their dresses, food games and parties. But we have to be very careful while studying the accounts of these travellers ~~as their accounts of these travellers~~ as their accounts often suffer from historical inaccuracies for different reasons. Because they had their limitations. Their knowledge of the country was superficial and they were not fully aware of the geography of India sometimes they depended upon local gossips and talks, without testing the accuracy of the event. Moreover, they, sometimes became prejudiced with the foreign land. Also they were unfamiliar with the local language. It often happened that one information passed from one traveller to other and so on and thus gained accuracy.

Even then, the importance of their accounts stands and the writer's integrity and sincerity can not

be ignored. An exhaustive and critical study is made of these sources.

The foreign records include foreign traveller's accounts and correspondence of the employees of English, French and Dutch East India companies. The first half of 17th century is covered by English traders and envoys like Ralph Fitch and Sir Thomas Roe and the later half is covered by travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, Manucci, Thevenot. They spent long years in India.

Early Travellers - William Hawkins (1608-11) William

Hawkins was a legation merchant, expert in Turkish language and in business and navigation. He was a representative of James I in Jahangir's court to seek favour in trade. He reached Agra on April 16, 1609 and Jahangir was impressed and pleased and honoured him with a mansab of 400 horses and acceptance as Ambassador.

His accounts are reliable as they give first hand information about the country. He was closely connected with court and royalty. His accounts include description of cities of Mughal Empire, standard of living of all classes trade and commerce. But he too needs to be carefully checked, as he did not know that

Mughal Empire had more than five subdivisions.

William Finch (1608-11) He was a fellow merchant of Hawkins and came to India with him in 1608. He extensively toured Eastern and Northern India. In order to make his purchases, he toured Agra, Bayana, Delhi, Ambala and Sultanpur in way to Lahore. He was better informed than any other early foreign travellers. The most important information given by him is the topographical information either in his journeys or in the enquiries from others. While describing the society in 17th century, his description of important cities, their layout, commerce and industries, administration, trade routes and different sections of society is very helpful.

Sir Thomas Roe (1615-1619)

Sir Thomas Roe came to India in 1615, as the ambassador of James I to the court of Jahangir. His accounts are based on his keen observations, and he gives a very interesting description of the things he saw. As he remained with the King, he visited large numbers of towns and gathered information about trade,

habits of people and similar things of Indian life. He had access to the King's register and his accounts are very rich in information about the trade relations between England, Portugal and France. Though his account the things which did not take place in his presence.

Edward Terry (1616-1619)

He travelled to India as the Captain to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. He wrote his book when he left India after two " half years stay. His observations were based upon his personal observations. He joined Roe near Ujjain, and then went to Mandu, and Ahmadabad. Where he remained for 9 months. He critically examined the customs and institutions that existed in Mughal India. But particularly he throws light on conditions of different classes of society, standard of living, manners and customs, dress, food, drinks and pastimes and trade, commerce and industries. These accounts are very important to reconstruct the Muslim Society under Jahangir's India. But he too is risky when description are made by him without his personal experience and sometimes he is highly prejudiced, unjust and ridiculous.

Francois Pelsaert (1620-1627)

Francois Pelsaert was a Dutch and an employee of Dutch East India Company. In 1620 he was posted in India and remained in Agra for 7 years. He throws light on the administrative system, standard of living of masses and social and religious customs of people. He gives account of cities, and trade and commerce done at Bengal, Agra, Lahore, Gujrat and Burhanpur. He visited different towns and examined them minutely. He mastered the Indian language and thus by mixing with local people, got the first hand information. But sometimes he exaggerates the deplorable condition of the masses.

Joannes de-Laet

Joannes de-Laet was a Geographer, Philologist and naturalist. He never came to India, but gained knowledge by keeping in touch with East Indian affairs. In 1631 he published "DE Imperio Mogri Mogh's" or the Empire of the Great Mogal. He is mainly a translator and compiler. But he was laborious, faithful and reliable. He was in constant touch with the merchants and this enabled him to obtain quick and truthful information of India. His work gives a detailed account of towns, their splendour, administration, trade routes, articles of

trade and production, standard of living and other things of importance.

Pietro Della Vall (1623-1625)

Pietro Della Vall was a Roman and visited India out of curiosity to study the religion of India, particularly to compare it with that of Egypt. He deals with the places of business of European traders. He also describes the Western cities of India on Surat, Ahmadabad, Cambay and Baroch, and included were the government, policy towards its subjects. He noticed that Mughals were tolerant in the extreme. He also mentioned the communal harmony in Indian society. He depicted the life of various sections of the society. He took part in the processions, feasts, celebrations, games and sports of the country. He observed the condition of lower class. But he did not visit the interior of the country.

Peter Mundy (1628-1634)

Peter Mundy, an Englishman, was the Factor of East India Company. His account is full of details. He wrote diary daily. He widely travelled the country and then gave information about routes, towns, carvansarais, he wrote about Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Burhanpur, Patna,

Benaras, Ajmer and Surat etc. and about markets, offices, houses etc. He accurately observed the social life of upper classes. He gives account of the commodities which were produced or manufactured for export to England, and he had personal dealing with brokers and merchants.

Fray Sebastian Manrique (1628-1643)

Manrique was a Catholic missionary and remained in India from 1629 to 1643. His account throws light upon society. He visited large number of towns of India and tells about the trade and commerce. After visiting the towns of Bengal, he went to Patna, and then to Lahore after visiting Delhi. He passed through Thatta, Thaneshwar, Sirhind, and Multan. He became close friend of Asaf Khan. His way of description of Asaf Khan's life throws light on the life of upper classes. But he seems to be against Muslims and speaks of them as barbarians.

John Albert De Mandelslo (1638-1639)

Mandelslo was a young German. He visited India out of adventure and arrived at Surat. He visited chief cities like Surat, Ahmadabad, Broach, Baroda and Cambay and then Agra and Lahore. He gives full information of

political history, commerce and industry of Gujrat, it's
 80 towns and social and economic conditions, based on
 his personal observation. Most important part of Mandelslo's
 description is his tour through Gujrat and gave details
 of life of Azam Khan, governor of Gujrat. His account
 of the wages and prices is based on verbal reports. And
 it can be visualised from his accounts that he was
 much interested in commerce of the country.

LATER TRAVELLERS

John Baptiste Tavernier (1632-1668)

Tavernier was an eminent French Jewel merchant
 and travelled several times in India between 1641-1668.
 He is the most important travellers among the foreign
 travellers. His account is the most authoritative work
 regarding commerce, towns, mineral resources and economic
 life of India. Including its Muslim population. He visited
 all the important towns like Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur,
 Lahore, Surat, Cambay and Dacca. But his account of
 society is very occasional. And his accounts lack the
 systematic arrangement of the subject and correlated
 chronology.

Francois Bernier (1656-1658)

Bernier was a very good physician and highly educated man of France. He was simply a visitor and visited a lot of Indian cities. Like Surat, Ahmadabad, Lahore, Kashmir, Agra, Delhi, Raj Mahal and Kasim Bazar. It is work of great value for the social life in second half of the 17th century. He was closely attached to the court and his description is based on his personal knowledge, the stayed with Danishmand Khan, a leading mansabdar of the court. He was in contact with the French Portugese, European merchants, ambassadors, and interpreters and used them as his sources. To get information about the people of India this work mainly consists of descriptions of society. But he had the habit to compare every thing of India with that of France and this resulted in his contradicting himself at various points.

Niccolao Manucci Venetian (1653-1708)

Manucci was a Italian traveller and was as an artillery man under the Mughals. He was a minute observer and was in close contacts with the Mughals. He visited towns like Burhanpur, Handiyah, Sironj, Narwar, Gwalior, Bholpur, Agra and Delhi and as a soldier, he saw Kasim

Bazar, Patna, Raj Kamal, Hugli, and Dacca. His accounts are based upon his personal visits and observations. Particularly for the reign of Aurangzeb, Manucci is of great importance. But attimes he was misinformed and prejudiced. He said that Indian customs are evil and hateful and He was on the staff of Prince Dara and had a strong dislike for Aurangzeb.

Jeen de Thevenot (1667)

Thevenot was a French traveller. He remained in India for one year only. He studied the life and condition of the people in the country. He was conversant in Turkish, Arabic and Persian and freely moved among the local people. This helped him a lot in getting first hand information about society. From his personal experience he described the roads, towns, safety, law and order. But he recorded events which he did not witness and depended upon heresay.

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1695)

Careri was an Italian doctor and visited India in 1695. He was a student of law and got doctorate degree in Civil Laws. He mostly remained in the coastal towns, like Surat and Cambay and gives a detailed account of social structure of the places. His accounts are based on personal experiences.

Factory Records

Adding to the information given by the foreign travellers, the Factory records of various trading companies operating in India are of immense importance as the source material for the social life of 17th century. They include "Letter Book of the East India Company; letters received from its servants and calender of the court, Minutes of the Company. These series cover the period between 1600 and 1708 and were collected by William Foster. Though they deal little with society but, being official records, their information may be taken as true and trustworthy. These throw important light on the administration and social and economic life of the country. The letters are full of personal experiences. They also deal with the condition of artisans, labourers, merchants and brokers.

CHAPTER-I

**CUSTOMS, CEREMONIES AND
SUPERSTITIONS**

Among Muslims marriage was taken rather as a social contract than a sacrament. Marriages were regarded as the greatest felicities of human life.¹ It was a kind of a rule and the few who did not follow it, were looked upon with contempt. Marriage was of great importance to a Muslim through the edict of Prophet necessitating every Muslim to enter into the bond of wedlock.

But at the same time, it was evident that numerous problems and expenditure a marriage incurred, because dowry was an important item and even the poor had to manage for it.² From Pelsaert's description of a nobles marriage of his daughter, one can easily visualise the heavy expenditure involved in high class marriage.³

So far as the age of the marriage was concerned, early marriage was encouraged. But no particular age limit was prescribed for Muslim's marriage⁴ sometimes a young man attracted by the wealth of old lady would marry her, disregarding the difference of age. But in general, early

1. Manucci - Storia do Mogor Vol.III, pp.54.

2. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.32.

He described the marriage of Azam Khan's daughter's in which 20 elephants, 1000 horses and 600 wagons laden with rarest stuffs in the provinces"

3. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.81,82,83,84.

4. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot, p.102.

marriage was followed and this age was fixed around 14 to 16 years.⁵ in case of both men & women.

In arranging the marriage it was always kept in mind that the bride should be of same caste and race Pelsaert tells in "---- as a rule, soldier marries a soldier, merchant marries merchant and so on according to occupation".⁶ Though no restriction were there for marriage among their distant relatives, yet marriages were strictly restricted among Shia, Sunni, Tukks - Indians, Mughals - Indians.

The parents of the girl and boy usually arranged the marriage's. Pelsaert wrote, "In arranging marriage the bridegroom has no share in the choice, still less has the bride, for the selection is made by the parents, or, if they are dead, by other friend."----- If they know of no suitable match, there are female marriage brokers, who know of all eligible parties; the parents will call these in and ask if there is rich young lady for their son" ⁷ So it is evident that help of marriage brokers was

5. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.81

E.Terry - Early Travels in India, pp.320-21.

6. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.81.

7. Ibid.

sought. They were called Qawwals.⁸ The couple was not allowed to meet each other before marriage.⁹ But the consent of the couple was sought before the marriage. Muslims generally married reports, interests and respect.¹⁰ A tax of one Dam to 10 Mohars was also realised from the parties, according to their status. But the nobles' marriage could not be arranged without prior permission of the King and when Khoja Barkhurdar, eldest son of Nakhshbandi, declined to abide by he was thrown into prison by Akbar.

Regarding the number of the wives, polygamy was practiced by Muslims, but was restricted to four wives. As E.Terry writes, "Such as doe (marriage) Mahomed allows four wives"¹¹ But particularly princes and rich class indulged in it and common man preferred only one wife. They married the second time only when the first are proved to be barren. In spite of it some persons, particularly of higher class, took liberty and kept many women at a time.

8. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.55.

9. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.152.

10. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.152.

11. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.320.

According to their abilities.¹² It was the custom with the Shias that a Shia Muslim might marry any number of wives by Mubah, but only four by Nikah¹³. But among the Sunnis too this rule was acceptable to only Imam Malik, not to Imam Shafi, who declared more than four wives as illegal.

While arranging the marriages, astrologers were consulted and muslims always tried to solemnise this marriage in some auspicious month.¹⁴ There only the invitations were sent. Widow marriage was prevalent, but it was confined to Muslims and labour class Hindus.

Marriage was considered as an expensive affair and the upper class spent lavishly over the marriages. Pelsaert has given a detailed account of heavy expenditure by the noble in a marriage at Agra.¹⁵ All these expenditure included ornaments, feasting, music, performance of the dancing girls, fireworks and other things of pomp and show.

12. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot & Careri, p.248.

13. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.59.

Bernier - Travels in Mughal India, pp.161,62.

14. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.59.

15. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.81-84.

But all these things were little concerned with the sentiments of marriage and were more related to show to others.

Dowry system was rigorously observed in Mughal India. But it was a sort of an evil for the poor and they found it hard to offer huge amounts in dowry at the marriage of their daughters.¹⁶ And it was due to huge amounts involved in dowries that many of the poor girls remained unmarried for the rest of their lives.

But at the same time, Muslims were very suspicious of the character of their wives and allowed them to meet even their closest relative only in their own presence.¹⁷

We get a detailed account through foreign travellers about mourning practices and ceremonies after death. More or less the funeral practices of Muslims were the same for men and women in whole Muslim world. Most of the rituals were based on the traditions of Prophet.¹⁸

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16. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.62;
 Careri - Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri, p.248;
 Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.152.
17. E.Terry - Easy Travels - India, p.320.
18. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.342.

Though the news of death of an ordinary man was conveyed to another subject in usual way, but a great care was taken in breaking the news of the death of a great man or the near and dear of king to the emperor.¹⁹ This too was done in phrases. The *vakil* of the deceased had to appear before the emperor with a blue handkerchief tied around his arm.

Women folk cried loudly at the death. And according to Quranic laws, the dead body was buried as soon as possible after being wrapped in a customary shroud by a Qazi and given a cold bath by professional washers, male or female, as the death person may be.

Fourmen carried the body to the graveyard, every now and then replaced by same number of men. The bier of a noble man was heavily perfumed and covered with flowers, accompanied by his insignia of rank, flags, elephants, and cavalry etc.²⁰ In the death of a male friends and relatives would go on repeating the creed or the benediction.²¹ As Manucci wrote "A turban bound

19. Manucci - *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.II,p. 153.

20. Manucci - *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.III, p.153.

21. Manucci - *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.III, p.153.

E.Terry - *Early Travels in India*, pp.315-16.

with gold is laid upon the outside as a token that inside is a body"²². But no such prayers were uttered for a female deceased as Manucci wrote, "They had no entry into heaven, as Muslim rule puts it"²³. The passers by stood in reverence upto the right of the body and offered prayers for the soul of the dead. Afterwards the body was gently put in the grave on its back and head toward Mecca.

The mourning continued for forty days.²⁴ King presented mourning dresses to the deceased noble's heirs. Dainty food and showy clothes were avoided. Music was forbidden. The widows were supposed to cover the palace's (palantian) roof with green cloth in order to show their mourning for their dead husband.²⁵ The relatives would visit the grave on third, 10th and 12th day after death to perform certain rituals and read certain chapters

22. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.153.

23. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.153.

24. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.153.

25. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.263.

from Quran. Clothes and food were distributed among pears and needy in the name of the deceased.²⁶ Death anniversary was also observed. Tombs were erected on the graves of high nobles, kings and princes.²⁷ The tombs of saints were places of remembrance while common people lit lamps at the graves of deceased or at his houses.²⁸

Every one wished to bear a son to continue his lineage and so was the case with nobility too. Even Emperor Akbar had to take a lot of pain of going bare footed on burning sand for son. The birth of a prince was celebrated throughout the Empire, but at the birth of a princess, only the ladies of royal household could celebrate it²⁹. For general public, birth of any child was a matter of great rejoicing and celebration.³⁰

The very first thing done was to call Azam in the ears of the newly born. Then on sixth day of the birth, Aqiqah ceremony was performed and the hair of the child was shaven with a feast, then naming ceremony Bismillah and circumcision.

26. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.153.

27. E.Terry - Early Travel in India, pp.315, 16.

28. Peter Mundy - Travels in Europe & Asia, Vol.II, p.229.

29. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, vol.III, p.343.

30. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.150.

After birth, honey was poured in for the child mouth³¹ and horoscope were also made.

Then came, the naming ceremony of the child, which was held on the day of birth and name was given by the grand father³². Every boy, however, should bear the name of Mohammad or one of its derivations. Sometimes names were given by opening any page of Quran and choosing the name with the first letter of the first line. But generally efforts were made not to allow the name to exceed four letters.

Once the baby was born, the women expressed their thanks in form of songs.

Then every years birth day was also celebrated with elaborate ceremonies and gaiety, particularly those of ruling monarch.³³ They were weighed at this day against gold and precious metals, and later on these articles were given in charity.

31. Tavernier - Tavernier's Travels, Vol.I, p.129.

32. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.343.

33. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.343.

Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.200-204.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.348.

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.272.

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.42.

The age for Bismillah was 4 years four month and four days and that of circuncision varied from five to twelve years of age.

Astrology had a great hold on Mughal India. As Bernier said, "In like manners no commanding officer was nominated, no marriage takes place and no journey is under taken, without consulting monsieur the astrologer."³⁴ Every quarter of the city had astrologers and astronomers. They prepared the horoscopes of sons of Maliks, nobles, Amirs, Vazirs and other high personnels. There were poor astrologers also.

"They tell a person his fortune for a paissa (which is worth about one sol); and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book, and pretending to make certain calculations, these imposters decide upon, the saket, or propitious moment of commencing the business, he may have in hand".³⁵

Careri also reflected the same idea while saying the King undertakes nothing without the advice of his astrologers.³⁶ These astrologers depended on the stars for

34. Bernier - Travels the Mughal Empire, p.161.

35. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.243-44.

36. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot " Careri, p.247.

for their calculation and Jahangir had immense faith in them³⁷. These were generally Brahmins by caste, but they had influence on Muslims as well as on Hindu masses. Even a street walker astrologer could influence a general man by telling his fortune with ambitious replies.³⁸ People even sought the help of astrologers and magicians for the recovery of stolen goods.³⁹

Hindus didn't allow others to touch them. Thus creating a lot of trouble for the travellers and at the same time, they didn't allow unknown persons and persons of low birth to take water from their own tanks and always guarded them.⁴⁰

But during the reign of the Mughals, tanks were provided by the government and were manned by state officials. No restriction was put on any person from pulling water from the reservoir. Thevenot^{gives} reference of such a reservoir.⁴¹ The construction of tanks and ponds was considered as pious act. Della Valle says "They (tanks)

37. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.77.

38. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.77.

39. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.1, p.203.

40. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.1, p.195.

41. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.34.

are made in diverse places by princes, governors of countries, or other wealthy persons, for the publick benefit and as works of charity".⁴² In Surat such a tank was constructed by one Hindu merchant Gopi.⁴³

In Cochin Tavernier observed that if any Hindu touches somebody by accident, they bathe immediately for three times otherwise they dare not to take food or water.⁴⁴

Many Mughal Kings consulted the Quran and derived Omen from certain passages. The people took omens from sneezing. They believed in lucky and unlucky days. In Malabar, people never touched anything dirty with their right hand but with their left.⁴⁵

The people thronged around the tombs of great saints, whome most of them took in great respect and honours. People sought favour from the graves of these great saints and promised to offer food and money to the poor if their wishes were fulfilled. Many members of other sects, lived in their own traditional manners, as there

42. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 32.

43. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p. 35;

De Laet - The Empire of the Great Mogur, p. 18;

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, pp. 12, 19.

44. Tavernier, Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 144.

45. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 144.

was no restriction on any sect. "The Hindus were free to elaborate their festivals, functions at their own accord not only this much, but the dead bodies too were allowed to pass from the city in music and procession"⁴⁶ Pardah too was not that restricted for Hindus⁴⁷. Taking advantage of this belief, some impostors posed as persons of very high and pure soul and roamed the street stark naked without any shame. They were in large numbers.⁴⁸

In times of famine or drought, people took it as wrath of God and special prayers were made to God^{for} to favour accordingly.

Prostitution was regarded as a disgrace. Some women adopted it and lived in separate quarters, generally outside the city. The administration made efforts to regulate this profession, which was also a source of revenue. These women entertained whoever went to their place against the payment of money.⁴⁹

46. Peter Mundy - Travels in Asia and Europe, Vol.II, p.220.
Barnier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.303.

47. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, pp.72,-73.
Terry - Early travels in India, p.30.

48. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, pp.139-40.

49. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.320.

The people of India were much more immune to deceases in comparison to the English people.⁵⁰

Bernier wrote that the climate of India was very good for health and was helpful in getting rid of diseases like stones, gases, catarrhis and so many others unknow diseases; and "the persons who arrive in this country effected with any of these disorders, as was the case with e, soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal diseases, common as it is Hindoustan, is not of so virulent in character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of world."⁵¹ The common diseases of the country were "bloddie fluxes, hot fevers and calentures".⁵²

But being poor, the general public could not afford rich physicians and fasting was the most accepted remedy for all the diseases.⁵³ Together with it, there was scarcity of physicians, for the common people. Therefore the women searched some particular plants in forests as cure for some diseases. The physician who were available

50. E. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.310.

51. Bernier - Travels in Mughal India, pp.253-54.

52. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.310.

53. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.199.
E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.310.

at all, had very little knowledge of their subject. In good towns one or two such fellows could be found sitting in the corner of street, giving remedies in shape of potions or plasters, while uttering words from mouth. This costed very little to the people.⁵⁴

54. Tavernier - Travel in India, Vol.I, p.240.

CHAPTER-II

POSITION OF ROYALTY AND THEIR PURSUITS

Through out the Mughal Empire King was known as the sole proprietor of land⁵⁵ there could be no duke doms nor morquisates.⁵⁶ And he was the heir of all the lands of nobles. Terry wrote, "No subject in this empire hath land of inheritance, nor have other title, but the King's will; which makes some of the granders to live at the high^e of their means."⁵⁷ King had full authority over the matters of land, he distributed jagirs, it was he who decided about good and bad jagir, and who decided the mode of payment, whether to be in cash or kind.⁵⁸ Though Bernier criticised the ownership of whole land by king and discussed the demerits of state ownership, 'because he studied the human psychology and human nature was bound to behave abruptly under state ownership.'⁵⁹

But the authority of the king was despotic by all its origins. There were no difference between judiciary. Executive and legislature. All these three powers lay in the king. During the time of Akbar the government was completely absolute. Likewise, Aurangzeb also performed

55. Bernier Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.221 & 212.

56. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.211 & 212.

57. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.326.

58. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.212, 13, 233 & 34.

59. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.238.

as chosen instrument of God though he always called himself on humble servant of God. But over centralisation reached its zenith under Aurangzeb. The Mughal Kings expected complete obedience from their subject and the failing persons were condemned with severest punishment. Though Hawkins noticed the hidden disapproval of Jahangir by subjects.⁶⁰ At the same time Pelsaert speaks about the extreme love of soldiers for Jahangir, who were seady to sacrifice their lives for their master.⁶¹ But by the time of Auranzeb this zeal had ceased to exist and the servants of Mughal Emperor lacked in devotion, of low family and they consisted of slaves, brutal, unknown to patriotism or loyalty, courage and honour.⁶² Though Jahangir on his part had tried to introduce big and high offices only to Muslim of high birth,⁶³ but slowly people of low birth and families.⁶⁴ Also the people of India still look upon the Mughals as foreigners and were hostile to the whole race.⁶⁵

Mughal emperors also based their authrotiy on Divine Right to which they adhered strongly in order to prevent any other family of thinking to assume power.

60. Hawkins - Early Travels in India, p.108.

61. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.53.

62. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.230.

63. Hawkins - Early Travels in India, pp.166 & 107.

64. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.230.

65. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.230.

The king had immense control and authority over his subordinates be it a soldier or a noble of highest rank. He could reward a service by the gift of a province or take it back without any sort of protest. He was the source of all administrative power and partially the strength of king depended upon his personality. All the six kings of Mughal lineage had a grand personality. All sorts of appointment were in hands of King. And also they transferred the nobles and officers. By those means king well maintained his position as the source of executive authority, this ordinances were irresistible. He granted ranks and titles on his subordinates.⁶⁶ appointed ministers and officers, coined money and had the Khutba read in his own name.

But it goes to the credit of Mughal Kings that they never became power mad and to them the interest of their subject were dear. They permitted the Islamic Law in theory and customs in practice to put a limit on their power, as is evident by the resistance of chief Qazi to proclaim Aurangzeb as the Emperor, who argued that the father was alive and the real successor Dara Shikoh was murdered⁶⁷. It was against the law of Mohammad and law of nature. So the King was held within reasonable limits.

66. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.212 & 213.

67. Tavernier - Travels in India - Vol.I, p.284.

Mughal emperor was the symbol of unity and peace and he had always to face the nobles symbol of disunity and crisis. Both wanted to control the administration. But the nobles had no one platform and due to their selfishness they failed to gain public sympathy and also because public realised the disaster of the gap of one King's fall and other's emergence. So they naturally tried to back the present king and they thought it as their social duty to obey the monarch.

The King regarded all his subordinates as his personal servants and as the highest of his officials was anxious to get near to him every word he said was flattered and appreciated and no opportunity was missed by the nobles to raise their hands toward heaven and utter Karamat Karamat and other words full of praise. The officers believed in the theory "out of sight, out of mind". So all of them thronged near the throne and tried to be in light.

But King never allowed all the powers to be centralised in one person, that is why his chief minister had no extensive powers. Though, King had to bear the burden of authority, but it paid him and it was only later on under weak rulers that the viziers rose and usurped the power.

Earlier they could only advice the king and that also was not binding. Thinkings transferred all the officers and it were frequent. Confidential messengers were these to give the king day to day report of the concerned officer and noble and probably all the nobles were watched by the spies of King is one after Mukarrab Khan by Jahangir.⁶⁸

About the standing and position of nobles under Aurangzeb, Tavernier said, "----- In the territory of this prince, the Nobles are built royal receivers, who sendes account of the revenues to the Governors to the province, and they to the treasure General and Ministers of Finances, so that this grand King of India, whose territories are rich, fertile, and populous, has no power near him equal to his own."⁶⁹

Further, to add to him strength, it was established that King was the heir of all the property of the nobles after their death.⁷⁰ He was the heir general all the officers in his service. He was the absolute owner. This included the property of Omrahs, Lords, Mansabdars inferior lords, only excepting some houses and gardens to be sold or brought sometimes by public.⁷¹

68. Hawkins- Early travels in India, p.81.

69. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.324.

70. Bernier - Travels in Mughal Empire, pp.211 & 212.

71. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.204.

Besides, the King had adopted many other methods to control the nobles, as the nobles had to mount guard on watch at the fortress once a week for twenty hours, King supplied to him meals only.⁷² In Golconda, on every Monday the principal noble had to mount guard up to weekend. Some were of the rank of 5000 or 6000 horses.⁷³ Thus were they reduced to a rank of watchman and psychologically they were demoralised. Likewise when the King's procession took place, they had to keep on guard besides his conveyance. Moreover, blue dress was prohibited to wear before King, as being the dress of mourners.⁷⁴

Above all, heavy punishment was met out to the rebels, be it noble or ordinary person, in order to teach a lesson to the people as well as to finish them absolutely with a lot of humiliation.⁷⁵

Finch wrote "At Panipat the heads of some hundred thieves and their bodies set on stakes a mile in length".⁷⁶

Nobody was allowed to sit in the presence of King, unless permitted to do so. Even the ambassadors had to act

72. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.213 & 214.

73. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.126.

74. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.327.

75. Hawkins, Early travels in India, p.113.

76. Finch - Early Travels in India, p.42.

according to the court attiquates as Bernier wrote, "The ambassador whom at a distance made the Salan, or Indian's act of obierance, placing the hand thrice upon the head and as often dropping it, down to the ground."⁷⁷

Tharokha Darshan was common, the emperor received many presents and gave away many favours. The things he bestowed were lowered by means of a silk string, rolled on a turning instrument. The things he received were wrinkled and hung like rings linked together by an old matron" who pulled up at hole with another device as the first one.⁷⁸ Bernier and Terry too wrote about the fabulous presents that the nobles made to the King time to time and as they always tried to surpass the others, in the value and rarity of the presents, Bernier drew the conclusion that it caused the ruin of the nobles.⁷⁹

No body was permitted to enter the royal Zanan Khana and severe punishments were met out to the intruders. On the other hand, the ladies too were kept in strict Purdah. Even then Roe got an opportunity to see a few of them, "At one side of the window were his two principal wives, whose curiosities made them break like holes in a grade of reed that hung before it to gaze at me. I saw first their figures,

77. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.117.

78. Roe - Embassy of Sir Thomas Row in India, p.321.

79. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.217.

the charge of Kazis, their lawyers, every city contained a Kachehri, where the governor, the Kazis, the Diwan, the Bakshi the Kotwal and other government officers sat together daily or atleast four days a week. The king was the supreme court for justice.

Generally all the Mughal emperors were secular with other religions. And the slaughter of cow and oxen was strictly forbidden and the persons who did it, were met with capital punishment. Buffaloes could be killed freely. Their meat was ample in quality and cheap.⁸³

The imperial standard of the Mughal empire was a crownchant lion shadowing part of the body of the sun.⁸⁴

83. Pelsaert - Jahangir India, p.49.

84. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.34.

CHAPTER-III

FESTIVALS, FAIRS AND PASTIMES

During the Mughal period, the Muslims of India participated wholeheartedly in the general festivities connected with Islamic festivals and ceremonial observances, though these festivals were much less in number than those of Hindus. Yet these were celebrated with equal enthusiasm. As a matter of fact these festivals are the anniversaries of most important events of early Islam. Under the influence of Hindu society, the Muslims adopted many things of Hindu tradition like weighing ceremony. During the time of Akbar. He went to the extent of celebrating Hindu festivals. Contrary to him, Aurangzeb banned the festivals, other than Islamic, including the celebration of Nauroz, Holi, Diwali and Basant Panchmi.

Ramzan: During the holy month, Muslims strictly kept fasts. No body could eat or even drink between dawn and dusk. Prayers were done day and night. The beginning of the month reckoned with the visibility of moon and ended when the Id moon was sighted. Muslim adults had to sleep away from their wives for the whole month. They had to leave wine drinking.⁸⁵ To the end of this month, they used to observe a day of mourning for their dead relatives and friends. Also

85. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.73.

Terry tells that women even moisture the graves of their dead husbands or children.⁸⁶ But it doesn't seem true as Islam never permit women to visit any grave, be it of her closest relatives. The observation is based upon a cursory understanding of the superficial views held by foreign visitors to India.

The sick, infirm, travellers, idiots and young children were, however, exempted from keeping fasts. But those who kept the fast, observed it rigorously and strictly.⁸⁷ That is why, when Shahjahan was unable to bear the regours of Ramzan at age of sixty. On his request, religious Islamic leaders permitted him exemption from keeping fast against payment of sixty thousand rupees in charity. Aurangzeb strictly observed the fast. Generally most of the muslims kept fast.

Id-ul-Fitr : After the end of Ramzan a great feast was held. It was Id-ul-Fitr, compared by Christians with their Easter.⁸⁸

It was welcomed with great joy and pleasure.⁸⁹

The day for Id was fixed by the sight of moon and its

86. E. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.317-18.

87. Manucci + Storia do Mogor, Vol.1, p.158, 59.

88. Pelsaert - Jahangir, India, p.73.

89. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.73, Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.280.

proclamation was done by firing guns and blowing of trumpets.

On the morning of Id, the muslims, offered prayers at a big mosque behind a Jazi who read some parts of Holy Quran publicly.⁹⁰ Pelsaert wrote that all classes of people, without any caste or class distinction, will gather at the mosque then they would return to their houses in great joy and exchange dishes with friends and relatives.⁹¹ It was customary to call elders and superiors^{ors} to offer greetings.⁹²

Princes, nobles and courtiers and other high officials gathered in the ^{audience} audience hall to greet the emperor. Money was distributed among the poor at mosque. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, all used to go to the Chief mosque to offer their Id prayers. In provinces governors presided over the Id celebration.

Id-ul-Zuha : The other Id comes 70 days later.⁹³ This was also called Bakr-Id, the day of sacrifice. It occurred in the 12th month of Muslim calender, 10 of Zu-l-Hijja.

"They keepe a feaste in November, called Buccaree,

90. E. Terry - Early Travels in India, pp.317-18.

91. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.73.

92. Norris - Embassy to Aurangzeb, p.144.

93. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.73-74, Peter Funday - Travels in Europe & Asia, Vol.II, p.186.
Manucci - Storio do Mogor, Vol.II, pp.349-50.

signifying the ramfeaste, when the solemnly kill a ram which redeemed Ishmael (as they say), when Abraham was needie to make him a sacrifice".⁹⁴

But now the animal sacrificed was a quardraped - goat, sheep, or even a cow, perfect in all parts. Jahangir once hi self sacrificed three goats at this accasion.⁹⁵ Preparations to celeberate this festival were made well in advance. On the day people assembled at Idgah and emperor rode in procession. Then a camel was sacrificed in his presence with due ceremonies.⁹⁶ The meat of the sacrificed animal was divided in 3 shares, one for charity, one for friends and one for family. Hide was given to some charitable institution.

Shab-i-Barat⁹⁷ - It falls on 14th of Shaban, 8th Arabic month. Also it is considered as the night of forgiveness. It was the general belief that in this night the good angles examine the souls of the departed and write down all the goods that they have done in their life-times and the bad angles sum up all their evil acts, the same day.⁹⁸

94. Terry - Early Travels in India, pp.317-18,
Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.73-74.

95. Peter Mundy - Travels in Europe & Asia, Vol.II, pp.196.

96. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, pp.349-56.

97. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot, p.44. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in western India, p.46.

98. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.44.

People prepare slews, sweets and dishes in the name of their deceased relatives and friends and offer Fatiha. Fireworks and light were displayed in the streets and on the roof tops of houses. Jahangir and Shahjahan observed this festival regularly.

Muharram⁹⁹ It is the first month of Islamic calender. The first ten days are observed as the days of lamentation in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Hasan and Husain, grandson of the Prophet. It was, in particular, observed by the shias. But Mughal emperors, inspite of themselves being Sunni, did not put any restriction on the observation of Muharram. Muslims kept fast for the first, nine days. On tenth day, would erect funeral pyres, which they burn one after another and the glowing ashes was scattered by their feet.¹⁰⁰ But Aurangzeb stopped these practices with Muharram procession, but Tazia was never stopped, alongwith mourning, assemblies and distribution of charities.

Barawafat - It was celebrated on 12th of Rabiul Awwal as the birthday of Prophet Muhammad. On this occasion poor

99. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.74-75.

100. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.74-75

Mandelslo - pp.42.

and indigent were fed. It was an important festival.

Nawroz - Terry wrote "----- Mahometans theirs (geass) at the very instant (as the astrologer's ghesse) that the Sunnē enters into Aries; from which time the King keeps a feast, that is called the Nooros, signifying nine days (New year)-----" ¹⁰¹. It was celebrated by Mughals with greatest joy and enthusiasm though it was according to Persian calender. It was a national festival. The first and last days were considered most auspicious, when much money and numerous things were given in presents. Grand preparations were made much earlier at the imperial cities. ¹⁰² All the places were decorated including markets, and houses with cloths of gold, satin etc. General people white washed their residences and decorated the entrances with green branches. ¹⁰³ Unaccountable people from neighbouring places gathered at capital for the sight of the glamour and magnificance of their ruler and indulged in merry - making for full nineteen days. Even they gambled on large scales. ¹⁰⁴

The royal court celebrated it in most extra-ordinary way ¹⁰⁵ coins were struck and distributed among the people.

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101. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.310.
 Hawkins - Early Travels in India, p.117.
 Peter Mundy - Travels in Asia and Europe, Vol.II, pp.237-38.
 Manrique - Vol.II, pp.195-200.
 Mandelslo - pp.41.

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wine was drunk like water for these 12 days singers and musicians gathered at court from far places. Manrique gives a detailed account of the feast at Agra. The first court yard rendered gay by a large body of glittering cavalry numbering 4000 horses, all dressed in coloured, embroidered silk, while the horsemen wore brilliant towers".¹⁰⁶ The same position was that of elephants, walls, galleries, halls. The nobles adorned their places with jewels, pearls, diamonds, their richest treasures and greatest rarities to attract spectators and admirers.¹⁰⁷ Ladies viewed all this through purdah.

Rabi - Another important month of the Muslim calendar is Rabi i- Prophet Muhammad is believed by a large section of the Muslims to have been born on the 12th of Rabi. It was celebrated as the birthday of Prophet. On this occasion poor and indigent persons were fed and presents
f.n. from previous page

102. Bernier - Travels in Mughal India, pp.272-73.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.I, p.195.

103. Manrique - Travels of Fary Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.193.

104. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot, p.48.

105. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.270.

106. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, pp.195-200.

107. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.270.

were given.¹⁰⁸

Pastimes - Among the outdoor games, the main was that of Chaughan, (a sort of Polo) played on horse back with stick and ball.

Jahangir was very much interested in it and used to play it very often. Similarly popular was the game of wrestling, in which big amount of money were thrown as bet ^{on} ~~on~~ wrestler's victory. Wrestlers of name and fame used to come to royal court and seek patronage. All the Mughal emperors were keenly interested in wrestling.¹⁰⁹ and regular competitions were held on the occasion of Id. Other manly games were archery, and horse racing. These sports were specially popular among the royalty. Princes and sons of nobles practised archery in which they tried to excel each other.¹¹⁰ Among the children, kite flying was particularly popular.¹¹¹ Kabaddi was another favourite social game. ^{Girls} ~~Girls~~ played with dolls.

108. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri , p.248.

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.28&, 22 & 33.

Terry - Early travels in India, p.42.

109. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.141.

110. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.246.

Terr - Early Travels in India, p.37.

111. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.72.

Sultans and nobility were interested in hunting and hawking. Jahangir was specially fond of it and hunting of lion was the privilege of royalty. He made it rule to hunt only male tigers.¹¹² Among the royal ladies, only Noorjahan accompanied her husband in hunting. A full hunting staff was employed. Falconery was common and falc~~ons~~ were reared up for this purpose.¹¹³

The common people delighted in hunting of hare, deer or other wild beasts.¹¹⁴

All Mughal emperors were interested in witnessing the animal fighting. It was generally held twice a week on Tuesday and Saturday. But in Jahangir's time these elephant fights took place daily.¹¹⁵ Shooting and bird catching was very common among people of all ranks.¹¹⁶ Pigeon fighting was a common entertainment for the people of all sorts. Boxing too was a mode of entertainment.¹¹⁷

112. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol.I, 157.

Finch - Early Travels in India, p.37.

Peter Mundy - Travels in Asia and Europe, Vol.II, p.27.

113. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.62.

114. Bernier - Travels in Mughal India, p.375.

115. Peter Mundy - Travels in Asia & Europe, Vol.II, pp.126 & 127.

Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri, p.53.

116. De Laet - The Empire of the great Mogur, p.92.

117. De Laet - The Empire of the great Mogur, p.28.

Monucci - Storia do Mogor , Vol.I, p.191.

Except it, fishing was a very popular game among Mughal Kings. They reared various types of coloured and shinning fish in tanks and ponds.¹¹⁸

As regards the indoor games, the most popular was chess. Jahangir often played it after dinner. Macdowell says that no game occupies so important a position in the history of world as that of chess. It is of Indian origin and was introduced into Persia from India.¹¹⁹

Another popular indoor game was Chaupar, enjoyed by both men and women. Gaujafa, a sort of game like playing cards¹²⁰. Jahangir loved this game. Professional dancers were invited into the royal courts on various occasions, though dancing was looked upon with contempt by mass. Women of household used to dance among their own sex on festival occasion along with puppet show.¹²¹

Another source of entertainment at the time was show by dancers male and female, acrobates, jugglers etc.

118. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.243.

119. Macdonell - The origin and Early History Of Chess,
J.R.A.S. 1898, p.117.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.I, p.460.

Roe - Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe in India, p.348.

120. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.34.

De Laet - The empire of the great Mogur - p.82.

121. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.34.

De Laet - The empire of the great Mogur, p.82.

Juglers exhibited their tricks on throwing balls in the sky, swallowing of the sword, thrusting of knife in nostrils, accompanied by dance and music.

So far as the music for entertainment was concerned, Muslims did not regard music as sacred science, like Hindus. Muslims were fond of popular and secular music, vocal and instrumental. This ^{art} and received a great patronage at the hands of nearly all the Mughal emperors. Jahangir and Shahjahan, like Akbar, were great lovers of music. Instrumental as well as vocal music made rapid advances during ^{the} reign of these two emperors. Ustad Muhammad Naya was a great flute player of Jahangir's court. Qawwals were also given patronage. But during the reign of Aurangzeb, the court musicians were forbade from singing, but even then music occupied a distinct place in the life of Muslims.

Gardens were also a source of entertainment . Gardening was the hobby with kings and nobles. Jahangir laid out gardens at Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandarah, Udaipur and in Kashmir. The tomb of Itmaduddaula also has around it a fine garden. Nurjahan laid out the Shahdara Garden at Lahore, having a series of fountains, tanks and artificial canals. Shahjahan founded Shalimar Garden at Lahore where one Ali Mardan Khan had brought a canal from

River Ravi. Other garden of his reign was Anguri Bagh at Agra. During reign of Aurangzeb, his daughter Zib-un-Nisa laid out a garden named Char Burji Bagh containing beds of flowers with a row of small fountains.

The contemporary travellers have given detailed accounts of well laid out gardens in different towns, Asaf Khan's garden being "small, neat with walkers (planted with cypress trees) divers tankers among joun tress"¹²² Pelsaert speaking of gardens of Agra said". "ere the great Lords far surpass ours in magnificance, for their gardens serve for their enjoyment, while they are alive".¹²³

122. Finch - Early Travels in India, p.56.

123. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.5.

CHAPTER-IV

COSTUMES, COSMETICS, FOOD ORNAMENTS

To suit India's climate, dresses were made of light stuffs. The dresses of nobles were of bright colour and rich stuff, but the variety of the cloth differed from man to man and they used generally costly stuff.¹²⁴ Here the foreign travellers have used the word breeches for churidar Pajama, which were used by upper class and were of striped silk of different colours, which reached upto their ankles.¹²⁵

In the winter-season, shirts and coats with sleeves and long coats (qabas) were used¹²⁶. They were decorated with gold and silver laces and were of very rich stuff. Thevenot says, "The rich have very costly ones. They are of cloath of gold, or other rich stuff, and are lined with sables which cost very dear."¹²⁷ For Asam Khan, Mandelslo said "clas in a white vestmant, over which there was another longer robe of brocade, the ground of it carnation, lined with whiti satin"¹²⁸

124. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle, Vol.I, p.44.

125. E. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.30,

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.50 & 51.

De Laet - The Empire of the Great Mogur, p.80.

126. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.132,

Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

127. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

128. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.34.

Shawls too were drapped around the shoulders during the winters. These were obtained from Kashmir and were very costly, sometimes as much as hundred and fifty ruppes each.¹²⁹ Over the upper garments, men of upper class, fastened over their waist, the lovely girdles of Persia, made of costly silken clothes¹³⁰. Nobles generally carried costly daggers tucked in those girdles.¹³¹ The use of headdress was very popular, Muslim attached special importance to the head wear, generally a turban. These were made of silk, called 'Shabh' with gold and silver lace. It was of very delicate and fine fabric.¹³² Thevenot said "The rich men have them of so fine a cloath, that five and twenty or thirty ells of it, which are put into a turban will not weigh four ounces. They are dear and one single turban coasts five and twenty ~~crowns~~^{Crowns}. They who effect a richer attire, have them mixed with gold; but a turban of that stuff. Costs several Toman ---- a Toman is worth about forty five French livers".¹³³ The upper class had a

129. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.403.

Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

130. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.38.

131. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.61.

132. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.240.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.38.

133. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

Delact - The Empire of the Great Mogur, p.80.

large stock of clothes and their wardrobes were filled and well maintained.¹³⁴

The wives and daughters of the nobles used the dresses made of costly stuffs¹³⁵. They changed their dresses frequently. Manucci described their aristocratic behaviour by saying, "They (ladies of the upper classes) are also obliged thereby to put on such exceeding-thin raiment that their skin shows through. They call these clothes siricas (sari) and others malmal (muslin). Ordinarily they wear two or even three garments each weighing not more than one ounce, and worth from forty to fifty ruppes each. This is without counting the gold lace that they are in the habit of adding. They sleep in these clothes and renew them every twenty four hours and never put them on again, but give them away to their servants".¹³⁶ The upper class ladies also wore costly shawls during the winter round their head and shoulders.¹³⁷

The dresses of the Muslim middle class did not differ very much from those of the upper class except in regard the quality of the material and frequency with which

134. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.417.

135. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle - Vol.I,p.44.

136. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.341.

137. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.403.

they changed them. Their pajamas were made of ordinary cotton cloth and over these they used to wear close fitting shirts. But their shirts was different from those of Hindus. Hindus wore shirts open in front.¹³⁸ Muslims of this class also used Caba and aregluck of ordinary cloth. A gridle of cotton cloth was tied over the upper garment round the waist. Shawls of ordinary cotton cloth were used when the ladies went out.¹³⁹ Men and women, both wore simple and plain clothes usually while in colour. They also used turbans and caps. The Hindu Pandits wore only two pieces of cloth, one a Dhoti and the other a scarf to cover the upper part of the body, the quality of the cloth depending on their status.¹⁴⁰

The lower classes wore scanty clothes. Because they could not afford to wear costly garments. In winter generally they had no wollen garments. They burned cowdung cakes to warm themselves when indoors. However, the women of the lower classes used inferior articles to adorn their bodies.

138. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.51.

139. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

140. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, pp.39 - 311.

Among the upper Muslim class, the use of footwear was very common.¹⁴¹ without the use of stockings, socks, on naked feet. "No one," says Bernier, "not even the King wears stockings, the only cover for the feet being babouches or slippers"¹⁴² The shoes were made of leather and upper part was sometimes covered with velvet or leather.¹⁴³ The upper class adorned their costly slippers with gold work. Thevenot says, "The stuff they are made of is "Maroquin or Turkey leather and they are ^umuch of the same shape as the peponches of the Turks, but the persons of quality, have them bordered with gold."¹⁴⁴ Manucci estimated the cost of one slipper of the wife of Jafar Khan fifty thousand rupees.¹⁴⁵

The footwear of middle Muslim class were of various types. The merchants wore shoes with heels for convenience,¹⁴⁶ while others used without heels. Thevenot says, "The rich merchants cover the upper leather of theirs with velvet embroidered with great flowers of silk and the rest are satisfied with red leather and small flowers, or some other galantry of little value."¹⁴⁷

141. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle - Vol.I, p.43.

142. Bernier - Travels in Mughal Empire, p.240.

Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.247 & 248.

143. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.38.

144. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

145. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.418.

146. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.52.

147. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.425.

The lower class normally lived naked foot.

Among the men and women of the muslim upper class the use of ornaments was very common. They adorned themselves with precious metals. Actually, the value and richness of the ornaments, depended upon their rank and wealth.¹⁴⁸ Almost every part of the body - ears, nose, wrists; ankles, arms were adorned with jewels. The arms were adorned with caskanets, and brackets of gold, silver every and set with precious stones. Rings were used in ears. According to Terry "ladies of qualitie are bedecked with many jewels, about their necks and wrists round about their eares are holes made for pendants and every woman hath one of her nostrils pierced, that these when as shée please, shée may weare a ring ----".¹⁴⁹

The middle class muslim men and women used ornaments generally like the upper classes, but they differed in price and quality of the material. The middle classes were quite well off and their ladies were laden with jewellery.¹⁵⁰ Their children too used ornaments. Manucci said, "their children carry from the birth to seven years of age little bells on their legs, either of gold or silver, and a little chain

148. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle, Vol.I, p.45.

149. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.248.

Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.53

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.40.

150. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.425.

of same metal round the waist".¹⁵¹

The muslim upper class was very rich and the wealth was in the form of cash, ornaments, jewellery and other valuables. They also possessed immovable property. Mandelslo mentions about the wealth of governor of Surat, Azam Khan which was, "worth in money and household stuffs, ten crores of rupees or fifty million carowns"¹⁵² They never thought in terms of hoarding the money, but spent their income lavishly. Actually while spending without any bindings, they tried to imitate the life style of the Mughal emperor.

They maintained a large household establishment. They had a large number of wives, mistresses and concubines who on their part, maintained the large household and drew large allowances from their husbands. A number of slaves, both male and female, were there to look after them. "As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of wealthy men ---- each wife has separate apartment for herself and slaves, of whom there may be 10 or 20 or 100 according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her quastos (expenditure) jewels and clothes as

151. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.38.

152. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.32.

provided by the husband according to their extent of his affection".¹⁵³ Careri too tells, "They spend all they have in luxury keeping a vast number of servants, but above all of concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be beloved above the rest, using all manners of allurements, perfumes, and sweet oyntments."¹⁵⁴

Private officials were used too look after different departments of their household such as treasure chamber lains etc.¹⁵⁵ They also maintain^{ed} a large number of servants and dependents consisting slaves, horses, camels and elephants.¹⁵⁶ According to their status to show their authority and dignity and this caused huge expenditure. Azam Khan's retinue consisted of "500 persons of whom 400 were his slaves, who were maintained in his house and transacted his affairs, besides 500 horses and 50 elephants."¹⁵⁷ Mandelslo estimated the monthly expenditure of Azam Khan at about 5000 crowns or 10000 rupees, excluding the amount spent on the stables.¹⁵⁸

153. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.64.

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.213.

154. Careri - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.247.

155. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.416, Vol.II,p.417.

156. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.213.

157. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.32.

158. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.32.

The bill of vegetables and herbs for Jafar Khan exceeded eighty thousand rupees a year".¹⁵⁸

The main items of expenditure were celebrations of different Kings, social gatherings, feasts, parties, which were almost matter of daily routine, and also, gave them opportunity for to show their welath and high standard. But a major part of income went to the king as presents, which were given to him time to time ~~from~~^{by} the nobles. The presents were given to the members of the royal family also.¹⁵⁹

Bernier says, "They (the nobles) are expected to make a handsome present. To the King more or less valuable according to the amount of their pay. Some of them indeed take this opportunity of presenting gifts of extra-ordinary magnificance ----. Some presents fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds or rubies; other offer vessels of gold coins, each wroth about a pistole and a half".¹⁶⁰ Edward terry too said while describing the celebration of Nauroz", where all his nobles assemble in their greateste pomp, presenting him with gifts, hee repaying them again with princely rewards at which time being in his presence, behold most immense

158. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.416.

159. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.213.

160. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.271.

and incredible riches to my amazement in gold, pearls, precious stones jewels and many other glittering varieties.¹⁶¹ Costly presents were given to the King when he was invited when Shahjahan was invited by Asaf Khan, huge and costly presents were given to him. According to Manrique "three large costly golden vessels filled with most precious stones, diamonds, Balazios, pearls, rubies and other magnificent gems (were presented)¹⁶² . These presents were worth seven hundred thousand rupees.¹⁶³

It was the national custom to eat on the floor, so they were richly decorated. On particular occasions the rich carpets of silk and silver and golden embroidery were spread to cover the floor. The seat of the chief guest was made luxurious with large beautiful cushions of golden cloth and upon them other smaller cushions of silver cloth were placed, while the Dastar Khan, dining floor was made of the finest and whitest muslin.¹⁶⁴

161. E. Terry - Early travels in India, p.32.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.348.

Careri - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.243 & 246.

De Laet - The empire of the great Mogur - p.99.

162. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.218.
p.219 & p.200.

163. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.216.

164. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.207.

A large number of servants attended such functions and put colours and dignity to their masters. When Sir Thomas Row was invited by Jamal-ud-din Husain at ~~Ajmer~~^J, he noticed that a company and one hundred servants were engaged by the noble¹⁶⁵. Matrons, maid - servants, bearers and ~~cunachs~~^{eunuchs} were pushed in to serve the guests dressed in rich costumes. Matrons removed the flies and other girls brought utensils for washing the hands of the guests invited to the party given to the emperor Shahjahan by Asaf Khan.¹⁶⁶ Manrique wrote that the servants were, "richly attired in Industane style .--- with trousers of different coloured silks and white coats of the finest transparent muslin. These coats served to cover their dark brown skins, which disseminated the precious sweet smelling unguents, with which on this festive occasion they were anointed"¹⁶⁷. Magnificent and costly vessels, gold dishes and utensils were used on such occasions¹⁶⁸. The reception halls were tastefully decorated. At the entrance of the hall of Asaf Khan in Lahore, stood Attydra, with seven spouts. It was made of silver and was of exquisite workmanship and was ornamented.¹⁶⁹

165. Roe - Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, pp.346 & 347.

166. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.216, 217 & 218.

167. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II.

168. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, pp.213 & 214.

169. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.215.

Meat and rice were widely used and various sorts of bread,¹⁷⁰ varying with the occasion at that time of meals. Fruits fresh and dried, pickles and condiments,¹⁷¹ were the usual accompaniment of every meal. Bernier mentions that Danishmand Khan spent 20 crowns on fruits for his breakfast.¹⁷² Different kind of dishes were prepared from the fruits. Manrique was astonished "at the abundance and diversity of the dishes and eatables among which, some were in European style especially certain pastries, cakes and other ~~xiava~~ sweets confections made by some slaves who had been with the Portugese -----, So admirably and delicately made that the Emperor (Shahjahan) was surprised at such novelties".¹⁷³

Tea and Coffee¹⁷⁴, iced drink¹⁷⁵, betels and intoxicants¹⁷⁶ were all in common use. Perfumes of all kinds

170. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, pp.186-187.

171. Roe - Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, p.348.

172. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.249.

173. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, pp.218-19.

174. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.81.

175. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.46.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.338.

176. Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, p.217 & 218.

of flowers distilled essence rose water, and scented oils, were in great demand.¹⁷⁷ Ladies were fond of dyeing their hands and feet with henna¹⁷⁸. At most of the festive parties dancing and singing was a common feature.¹⁷⁹

Various types of wheeled conveyances were used besides those in which male carrier and runners carried their masters and clients. Horses, elephants, palanquins¹⁸⁰, doliis, chariots, coaches of European style, carts and boats were used for moving from place to place. Horses, mules, bullocks, elephants were used for riding. Palanquins were carried by 6 or 8 persons on their shoulders. It was furnished luxuriously with quilts and carpets and adorned with tapestries and were in common use. All sorts of people used to ride over these palanquins. The rich persons used to keep their personnel palakis and middle class persons used to hire these palakis. The people of lower class generally pulled these palakis. Bernier mentions a novel mode of conveyance capacious lifters when he says that a seat was tied between two camel's back or two small elephants.¹⁸¹

177. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.338.

178. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.34.

179. Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, p.216.

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, pp.38-39.

180. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.246.

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.14.

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.45.

181. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.371.

Ladies used the doli which were built magnificiently, painted and cushioned insides, "gilt and painted and covered with magnificient silk nets of many colours and enriched with embroidery, figures and beautiful tassels".¹⁸²

The main mode of conveyance for the lower class was bullock carts¹⁸³ or ponies and in some parts of the country camel carts were available. Terry said "The inferior sort of people ride on oxen, horses, mules, camels or dromedaries, the women like the men or else in slight coaches with two wheels".¹⁸⁴

182. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.371.

Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, p.189.

183. Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, p.89,

Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.246.

Thevenot - Indian travels of thevenot and Careri, p.75.

184. E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.46.

CHAPTER-V

**MUSLIM SOCIETY AND WORKS OF PUBLIC
WELFARE**

Mosques, shrines and Khangahs were used for religious devotions and as educational centres. Pilgrimages and religious festivals were the only diversions as affording a respite from a strenuous and precarious existence. Though lavish expenditures were made for luxurious life, yet the upper classes were not lacking in generosity and contributed to charitable and religious endowments, patronised learning and arts and crafts and built public works of great utility. Terry wrote, "For their marks of charite many rich men build sarais or make wells, where passengers may drinks, or else allow pensions unto poormen that they may sit the by the highway sides and offer water unto those passers"¹⁸⁵ Governor of Patna, Saif Khan built caravan Sarais, gardens, mosques in Patna.¹⁸⁶

They also helped education by granting stipends to the teachers¹⁸⁷, food and clothings to the pupils and building maktabas and madarsas. Upper classes, rich merchants, were liberal at charities and gave money open heartedly for the works of public utility and religious or educational institutions.¹⁸⁸ Hospitals too were built for animals also.¹⁸⁹

185. Terry - Early Travels in India, p.46.

186. Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol. II, p.159.

187. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol. II, p.234.

188. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol. I, p.217.

189. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.13.

Hygiene and sanitation were controlled by the government and Kotwal was entrusted to look after these departments. These included the sprinkling of water on and general cleanliness of public streets, lanes, markets and other important public places. In addition to these measures for controlling epidemics and taking other precautions prevent their spreadings were also undertaken by the Kotwal.

The sweepers used to clean the public roads but private arrangements were to be made to get the houses cleaned and they were paid according to the size of the cleaned places. The sweepers, called Halal Khors, had to clean the refuse from houses and had to make use of donkeys to carry the sweeping from the houses to the fields.¹⁹⁰ For the general cleanliness of the streets, lanes and market places, the Kotwal organised a team of sweepers who were deputed to different sectors of the town. Manrique was surprised to see the cleanliness of the street and markets of Lahore.¹⁹¹ In Agra a few drains dating from the time of the Mughals are still traceable.

190. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.186.

191. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.188.

Though the streets of the towns were not regularly watered but whenever the procession of the King took place, the roads and streets were washed with water.¹⁹² Sweepers, like ancient rule of India, were allotted quarters outside the city and after their respective jobs done, in the night they were not permitted to be present in the city. The slaughter houses too were located outside the city.

The lighting arrangements in the streets were inadequate. The palace gate, forts, castles and the gates of the nobles residences and some of the government offices like the Kotwali Chabutra and Chokis were the only places which were lighted regularly, along with some other important centres of the city as central place of the city like Chowks, maidan or squares and market places. William Finch wrote about the maidan in front of the fort of Surat that, "the meadow, which is pleasant green, in the midst, where of is a maypole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great festivals."¹⁹³ Also arrangements were made for the lighting and illumination of the cities on important occasions like festivals.

192. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.280.

193. Finch - Early travels in India, p.27.

A lot of works of public welfare were undertaken by the Mughal emperors and the royalty and the high class merchants, wealthy people. Nurjahan Begum built Sarais, pleasure grounds etc. Pelsaert says, "She (Noorjahan) erects very expensive buildings in all directions Sarais or halting places for travellers and merchants, and pleasure gardens and palaces such as no one has ever made before intending thereby to establish an enduring reputation".¹⁹⁴

Thevenot wrote about Lahore "It (Lahore) is large and hath been adorned as the other's are with mosques public baths, quervansarais, squares, tanqueis, palaces and gardens."¹⁹⁵ And the same is true about all other important cities of Mughal Empire like Multan, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, Baroch, Surat, Burhanpur, Ajmer, Allahabad, Benaras, Patna and so on.

The carvansarais were the most notable public institutions. A larger number of these carvansarais were commodious buildings, many storied with all sorts of provisions and looked like magnificent. For the administration of the carvansarais and for safeguarding and providing

194. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.50.

195. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.85.

conforts to the travellers, keepers were appointed. And these Sarais were immaculate ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ lodging and the foreign travellers too acknowledged it. These had lockers to keep valuables in it, fine sets of rooms and good stables for beasts and all rooms had their own doors, not having a common one. The rooms of carvansarais at Lahore had locks and keys for every room.¹⁹⁶ Thevenot said about them in Ahmadabad, "adorned with several lodges and Balcony's - - - two stories high and varnished over like a marble with chambers on all sides, where strangers may lodge".¹⁹⁷ Manrique tells that cots too were provided in them.¹⁹⁸

No charges had to be paid for using those carvansarais.¹⁹⁹

Peter Mundy speaks about the carvansarias of Patna, "It hath two fair courts each havinge warehouses round about beneath and roomes with galleries to lodge in alofte."²⁰⁰ It seems that in addition to regular carvansarais, some were built and reserved for certain communities.²⁰¹ Like Christian²⁰²

196. Finch - Early Travels in India, p.57.

197. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.12.

198. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, pp.100,101

Terry - Early Travels in India, p.33.

Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, pp.120 & 121.

199. Terry - Early travels in India, p.33.

200. Peter Mundy - Travels- Vol.II, p.159.

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.48.

201. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.190.

202. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.150.

Armenian²⁰³ and others.

Some were exclusively reserved for the use of chiefs, nobles and foreign merchants. In Delhi such a carvansarai was built by Jahanara Begum, it was a double storied building with all sorts of comforts, amenities and was generally used by travellers from Persia, Uzbekistan, and other foreign countries.²⁰⁴ Manucci told about it, "This is the most beautiful sarai in Hindustan, with upper chambers adorned with many paintings and it has a lovely garden, in which are ornamental reservoirs. In this sarai they put up none but great Mogul, and Persian merchants."²⁰⁵ Bernier, deeply impressed by such carvansarais, meant for foreigners only, wanted similar type of carvansarais to be established in Paris for saving strangers from botheration of searching accommodation of their first arrival in Paris.²⁰⁶ Generally one carvansarai was put under the charge of one subordinate official who was responsible to the police-chief.

In every city the maidan or square²⁰⁷ was used for market and shops. In Delhi, at Badaun Gate commodities were

203. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.150.

204. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.280 & 281.

205. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.221.

206. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.280 & 281.

207. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.12 & 24.

sold, about the market in Agra Tavernier says, "A Tasimacan is a larger bazar, consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes under which there are chambers for the use of merchants".²⁰⁸

The baths or hamams were the salient feature of the public institutions under the Mughals. These baths were situated in different localities, for the use of the inhabitants and the visitors to the towns.²⁰⁹ In Agra, against the payment of a very small sum, one could bathe and get massage in the greatest luxury.

Except these, some provisions for the recreation of the public were also made by the administration. Thevenot wrote about cambay, "The outskirts of the town are bentedified with a great many fair publick gardens".²¹⁰ These gardens were full of all sorts of amenities, and were situated at the outskirt of the city, and were used by the general public. In addition to these, the gardens, attached to the tombs were also used by the public and the government used to expend heavy amount of money on the maintenance of the gardens and their upkeep. Mosques were built and king nobles and big merchants denated large sums of money for

208. Tavernier - Tavernier India - Vol.I, pp.109 & 110.

209. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.48.

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.49.

210. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.18.

them and their maintenance. Free medical aid was often available to the inhabitants of the town. Jahangir ordered that hospitals should be established in towns, appointment of physicians should be made. This expenditure was to be met out from the Khalsa establishment. Separate physicians were for Hindu and Muslims. The chief Hakim appointed officers to look after the patients. The government allotted money for medicines and food for the patients.

In Cambay, Surat and Ahmadabad hospitals were opened for animals too.²¹¹ Also for the benefit of the porters, there were small walls to lean against, as they had to carry heavy loads on their back. Jahangir ordered that in all large towns such walls should be built as he was very much pleased to see these walls.

Free kitchens (langar khana) were established in the town for the use of poor people, to be looked after by a Darogha. Separate langar khana were opened by Akbar in Agra. For muslims called Khairpura, for Hindu called Dharampura, and for the jogis called Jogipura.

211. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.16 & 18.

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.1, p.77.

Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.165.

During the time of emergency like scarcity and famine, in addition to the regular free kitchens, new kitchens were established and other relief measures were adopted to cope with the situation. Additional money was released and officers were appointed to look after the arrangements. All the time of festivals, money and grain was distributed among the poor.²¹²

Scholars were given pensions stipends and allowances according to their abilities and there was a separate department for it.

Measures were also taken to for protecting a towns against the floods. In Lahore, to ~~the~~ check the flow of Ravi a bund embankment was constructed by Aurangzeb, one and a half league in length.²¹³ And this department also looked after the maintenance of town, mosques, ~~to~~ walls and gates etc.²¹⁴

In every town steps were taken to enforce public morality. It was supposed to be the duty of the administration to prevent social evils. Gambling on large and professional

212. Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.248.

Terry - Early Travel in India, p.42.

213. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.119.

214. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.119.

scale was prohibited. Sati practice too was checked and no woman could burn herself with out the prior permission of the governor and in no case a widow was burnt against her wishes.²¹⁵

215. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.306.

Peter Mundy - Travels - Vol.II, p.35.

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.42.

CHAPTER-VI

SOCIAL PATTERN AND URBAN PLANNING

The society of Northern India in the 17th century was divided into different classes according to profession, birth or social and political distinctions. The royal courtiers consisted of Rajas, nobles, high mansabdars, and high government officials. These formed the upper strata of society.

Though Bernier states, "There is no middle state - - a man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably".²¹⁶ but from other contemporary we derive that there was a strong and prosperous middle class of muslims, growing steadily. This consisted of commercial classes, bankers, shopkeepers, brokers, money lenders, jewellers, Mughal officials, teachers, scholars, astrologers, priests, writers, copyists, translators, physicians, poets, musicians, and artisans.²¹⁷

The lower class consisted of working classes, weavers, craftsmen, as blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, masons, stone cutters, and ornamental sculptors, domestic servants,

216. Bernier - Travels in Mughal Empire, p.352.

217. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.182,

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.III, p.68;

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.77;

E.Terry - Early Travels in India, p.31;

Thevenot - Indian Travels of thevenot and Careri, p.81.

slaves and soldiers still ^Lower were washermen, dyers
barbers, tailors, camp attendants, hawkers, and peddlers.²¹⁸

The aristocracy, the big merchants and more well to
do members of the professional classes, lived in great comfort
and luxury. And they followed the life style of their King.
The upper middle class did not differ from them in standard
of living.²¹⁹ These people were very orthodox and conservative,
living in peace. Also they adopted the means by which they
might appear poor.²²⁰

The lower class was poor and lived on day to day income
According to Della Valle " - - for a simple servant, who
is not an officer, commonly in the best houses, between wages,
vituals and clothing, stands not in more than three
rupiah a moneth - - -"²²¹

The houses of the upper class people were generally
in capital cities and were built on the bank of some river²²²
or outside the city in a less congested area.²²³ Rich Muslims

218. Pelsaert - Jahangirs India, p.60, 71, 61.

219. Pelsaert - Jahangirs India, p.63.

220. Bernier - Travel in the Mughal Empire, p.225.

221. Della Valle - Travels of Pietro Della Valle - Vol.I, p.42.

222. Pelsaert - Jahangirs India, p.1;
Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.284;
Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.47.

223. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.247;
Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.97.

often named the area surrounding their residence after their own.²²⁴ like Akbarpura, Tajpura, Jamalpura etc.

These houses were spacious and airy and comfortable²²⁵ as the position of the person concerned was²²⁶. Houses were enclosed with walls and an open space was left for fresh air in summer season.²²⁷ These houses had large halls and rooms and had several courts inside them.²²⁸ Generally single storeyed houses were preferred, but multi storeyed houses too were built.²²⁹ Money was lavishly spent on the decoration of these houses. The stones were carved and tiles were used.²³⁰ To decorate the ceilings, paintings and carvings were done²³¹.

224. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.220.

225. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.105.

226. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's Travels in Western India, p.26.

227. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.66.

228. De Laet - The empire of the Great Mogor, p.91;

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.22;

Careri, p.247; Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.66.

229. R. Terry - Early travels in India, p.21.

230. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.164.

231. Bernier - Travels in Mughal Empire, p.247.

Heavy curtains were used for doors and windows. Manrique wrote about the house of Asaf Khan, "well lighted and extremely attractive, as it was lighted all round by a series of casements fitted with windows of different colours --- "232

The houses were well furnished and furniture was suited to the climate and customs of the country. The floor of the rooms was covered with thick carpets²³³. These were decorated with gold and silver embroidery and had different designs of brocade.

Bernier too said, "The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mattress 4 inches thick over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer and a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk, embroidery interspersed with gold and silver (for the master of the house or man of quality). Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon and there are other cushions placed around the room, covered

232. Manrique - *Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique*, Vol.II, p.208.

233. E. Terry - *Early Travels in India*, p.30, 34, 35;

De Laet - *The Empire of Great Mogor*, p.81-89;

Peter Mundy - *Travels*, Vol.II, p.218.

with brocade velvet or flowered satin"²³⁴ The Diwan Khana or the audience room was specially furnished."²³⁵

The variety of the furniture was limited. As Pelsaert wrote "They have no furnitures of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stools, benches, cupboards, bedsteads etc, but their cots or sleeping places and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do".²³⁶ Manrique gives the similar description about the furniture of Asaf Khan".²³⁷

The upper classes decorated their houses in good taste. Exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors were also used as we are informed by Row, and Bernier.²³⁸ Though these travellers have mentioned these paintings in the royal household, but in fact it was possible that the nobles too must have started copying this in their residence. Halls and rooms were lavishly decorated²³⁹ Manrique wrote about Asaf Khan's palace." A rich and luxurious building well lighted and extremely attractive --- where ever there was no window it was replaced by an ornament of different

234. Bernier - Travels in Mughal Empire, p.247.

235. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.66.

236. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.66.

237. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.208.

238. Sir Thomas Roe - Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the great Moghul - pp.346 & 347; Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.267.

239. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.247.

kinds of branches and flowers enchased on the walls in glittering silver which thus served as a fixed hanging".²⁴⁰
The

The nobles used to send earthen potteries to the court for decorations.²⁴¹ Pelsaert wrote about the interiors of nobles houses". Their Mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride and ornamental daintiness.²⁴²

The houses were mostly surrounded by gardens, tanks, fountains and other similar amenities to add to the charm of those.

The gardens were laid down to get more pleasure and comfort during the summer season²⁴³. "A good house, " says Bernier "has its courtyards, gardens, trees, basins water, small jets d' can in the hall or at the entrance"²⁴⁴. Inside the houses, there were tanks in which water ran in order to make the house cold during summers.²⁴⁵ Manrique wrote about Asaf Khan's house, "The most lovely park was watered by sweet clear water brought by numerous open channels,

240. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.208.

241. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.426.

242. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.60.

243. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, .285;
Terry - Early Travels in India, p.21;
Manucci - Storia do Mogor - vol.I, p.70;
Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.393;
Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.60.

244. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.247.

245. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.66.

communicating with various reservoirs and fountains of these, some made attractive bathing places being enclosed in, gilded and painted houses".²⁴⁶ They had cool rooms, covered with Khass curtains and fans were fitted, pulled by servants.²⁴⁷

Near the water points the visitors were entertained and this place was made comfortable by carpets and cushions.

The upper class houses had private canals, in Kashmir, connected with the lake for the purpose of boating. Manrique on his way from Agra to Bayana, spoke of the numerous gardens and country houses of the courtiers,²⁴⁸ which were built to get some natural view of the country side away from the boredom of artificial city life. Some officers resided at Delhi in great enclosures, in which they had their tents pitched.²⁴⁹

The houses of the middle classes were far inferior to those of upper class in all respect either furnitures, or size or decoration. But Muslim merchants of Surat had very noble and lofty houses, terraced with plaster.²⁵⁰

246. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.208.

247. Peter Mundy - Travels Vol.II, p.191;

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.247.

248. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.153.

249. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.96.

250. De Laet - The Empire of the great Mogur, p.19.

Their residences were mostly situated in the heart of the city, where the markets were located²⁵¹. The shopkeepers used to live on the upper story of their shops. Bernier wrote about these houses", they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious with in, they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and communicate with the terrace roofs over the shops".²⁵² Some were built over their own warehouses at the back of the arcades²⁵³, but richer merchants live outside the city in the open to which they retired after the business hours.²⁵⁴ The houses of middle class were built along with the main streets of the city.²⁵⁵ Their residences were generally enclosed by a high wall to give privacy and security.²⁵⁶ The residences

251. Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, p.218;

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.96.

252. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.240.

253. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.245;

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.12 & 60.

254. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.245.

255. Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.97;

Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.293.

256. De Laet - The Empire of the Great Mogur, p.51.

of the merchants were well furnished and had courts and gardens.²⁵⁷

The dwellings of lower muslim classes were humbler and of very poor material with little space. Thevenot says that the houses of the. "Commoner sort of people are but straw, containing but few people a piece".²⁵⁸ In Dacca, houses were built of mud and bamboo²⁵⁹. Due to their being mostly of thatch, these dwellings, easily caught fire. Bernier wrote, "It is owing to these thatched cottages that Delhi is subject to such frequent conflagration"²⁶⁰

Their dwellings were situated within the city as well as on the outskirts of the city or near it²⁶¹. So the names of the localities were after different professions pursued by their inhabitants. The petty hawkers, pedlars had their wares spread on the foot path, on the side of the road.²⁶² Their houses were so small that during summer the masses had to sleep in the streets as observed by Bernier²⁶³ but one may say it might have been due to scorching heat that masses came under the open sky during

257. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.246 & 285.

258. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.49; Pelsaert - Jahangirs India, pp.60 & 61.

259. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.128.

260. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.246.

261. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.21. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.128.

262. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.60.

263. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.240.

summer, the practice that still prevails in India.

Pelsaert observed while speaking of poverty. "Poverty is so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe, - - - Furniture there is little or none except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking, and two beds" - - - "264

264. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.60-61,

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.III, p.41.

CHAPTER-VII

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

The high standard of living and lavish expenditures made by the upper class, directly or indirectly contributed to the growth of commerce, arts and crafts. It gave an impetus to industries and encouraged foreign trade and also provided work and employment to a large section of the people. Musicians, astrologers, physicians, scholars along with the destitute and the indigent the sick and the incapacitated had at least some section of the populace to fall back upon for support and maintenance. Some nobles invested money in banking. Mir Jumla and his son were actively engaged in commerce and financed others to carry on business on their behalf.²⁶⁵

Travernier says "For it is the principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money in vessels in speculations for Hormuz, Bassora and Mocha and even for Bantam, Achin and the philippines"²⁶⁶. It seems that this practice, was more common in coastal towns and with the officers of the customs, who first came in touch with the traders of foreign companies. The upper classes lived in increased comfort and assuming an air of independence as well in great superfluity

265. Bernier- Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.16 & 17.
E.F.R. Vol.XI, p.61.

266. Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, pp.37 & 38.

and absolute power,²⁶⁷ and splendour of their living did not lack in any way of raising their standard, of living and to display their wealth and power. As Manucci said they "live with such ostentation that the most sumptuous of European courts can not compare in richness kind magnificence with the lustre beheld in Indian court"²⁶⁸. In spite of their immense source of income and ostentations display of wealth the nobles were always in "embrassed circumstances and deeply in debt" and few of them had either the incentive or the inclination to save and hoard up for their success.²⁶⁹

During this period, with the growth of commerce and industry the muslim merchants, specially, of the coastal towns were be coming prosperous by making large profits and there were so rich, that same times, the money was raised from these merchants to equip an army²⁷⁰.

Though the merchant class was generally dominated by Hindus²⁷¹, Muslim merchants too were an important figure of the merchant class, but they were not that rich as their

267. Pelsaert - Jahangiri India, p.60.

268. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.330.

269. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.213.

270. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.27;

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.248 - He too mentions that Murad Baksh realised money from the merchants.

271. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.77 & 78.

Hindu counter parts were.²⁷²

Unskilled labourers and small artisans and craftsmen were controlled by the middle classes who generally acted as middle men for the procurement of goods and labour for Indian and foreign merchants. For protection and unhindered pursuit of commerce, the patronage and protection of some high officials was generally sought. And it was like a crime for a person to grow wealthy without the protection of a powerful and great person and as Bernier wrote that, "Merchants who derive their income from King or from the Omrahs, or who are protected by the powerful patrons, are at no pains to counter fist poverty, but partake of the comforts and luxuries of life."²⁷³ Pelsaert remarks that the merchants were "subject to a rule that if the kings nobles or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little less than half price, the for to begin with, they must give great weight for small coins, the differences being 20% than 8% is deducted f r dasturi, the clerks, overseers, cashiers and others all know very well how to get their share"²⁷⁴ Bribery and corruption or high handedness of officials were generally complained of but the conditions

272. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.225.

273. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.225.

274. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.63.

were not worse than prevailing elsewhere and the government did give redress when complaints were made.

According to age old customs some trades and professions were confined to particular families or classes. Bernier says, "The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith".²⁷⁵

The condition of lower and labourer classes was very deplorable and though they were normally free they had to work hard, subsisting generally on starvation wages. Some of them were so poorly fed as to make a traveller particularly notice their lean stomachs.²⁷⁶ Country made liquor was usually consumed by them. We can accept the statement of Bernier with some caution, "All those handy craftsmen came in the morning to those kar-kanays, and work these all day long and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly without aspiring above his condition".²⁷⁷ This class was generally exploited in numerous ways by the upper classes and government officials like the Kotwal etc.²⁷⁸ Domestic servants could be hired for

275. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.259.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.60.

276. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.61.

277. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.259, 224 & 228.

278. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.60, 62;

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.225;

E.F.R. Vols V, p.290, II, pp.93-& 118.

mere food and clothes²⁷⁹. Child labour too was very common²⁸⁰ which were available on nominal charges. However the labourer, artisans, skilled craftsmen and servants, who were engaged by the state or some powerful nobles, were better off.²⁸¹

During this period exploitation of the labour class especially weavers, who were in majority muslim, by the middle class merchants was also apparant. Bernier speaking in this context says, "If money be gained it does not in any measure go into his pocket (artisans) but only serves to increase the wealth of the merchants".²⁸²

Various types of industries flourished during the 17th century in which muslim as well as Hindu merchant took part and made huge profits. Benaras, Burhanpur, Dacca and Barod were the main industrial towns.

Benaras was famous for its textile and metal industries and fine silken stuffs of various colours worked in gold and silver, especially for turbans and girdles were manufactured.²⁸³ Metal utensils, including those intended for domestic use were manufactured in large quantities and sent to different regions.²⁸⁴

279. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.60.

280. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.402-403.
Thevenot - India travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.55.

281. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.255.
E.F.R. Vol.I, p.160.

282. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, p.229.

283. Manrique - Travels of Fgy Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.149.
Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.118.

284. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.7.

Dacca was famous for the textiles especially for Muslims. Manucci said "It is in this vast region that they produce the prodigious quantity of fine white cloth and silken stuffs of which the nations of Europe and elsewhere transport annually several ship loads".²⁸⁵ Galleys and boats too were manufactured.²⁸⁶ With the help of Englishmen, ammunition was manufactured.²⁸⁷ Jute industry flourished and fine jute mattresses were made here.²⁸⁸

Burhanpur was famous for its textile industries.²⁸⁹ Very fine muslin was manufactured~~ed~~ and sent to foreign countries²⁹⁰. It was a mint town and it seems that a number of iron factories²⁹¹ existed there.

Except these Baroda too was an important industrial town.²⁹²

285. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.430.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.8-29.

286. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.95.

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.128.

287. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.87.

288. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.66.

E.F.R., Vol.I, p.100; Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.5

289. Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.51.

290. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.I, p.66.

291. E.F.R. Vol.II, p.118;

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.44.

In addition to major industrial towns, some smaller towns also emerged and produced industrial goods for local market. Among these were Srinagar, Sialkot, Sirhind, Sironj, Bharatpur, Fatehpur, Sikri, Biana, Jaunpur, Shahzadpur, Gaya, Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Malda and Angrezabad.

In Srinagar most notable was textile industry for manufacture of cotton,²⁹² and woollen cloth, leather, wood carving was also carried on.²⁹³

In Sialkot textile, iron and paper industries flourished. In sirhind textile and leather and the manufacture of bones and quivers flourished.²⁹⁴

Sironj was a great centre of textile industry.²⁹⁵ At Bharatpur, textile industry flourished which included manufacture of woollen carpets and tapestry.²⁹⁶

292. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.428.

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.402 & 403.

293. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.419.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.428.

294. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.182.
E.F.R. Vol.VI, 134.

295. Peter Mundy - Travels - Vol.II, p.56.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.68.

196. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.56.

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol., p.78.

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At Fatehpur Sikri woollen carpets were manufactured²⁹⁷
 Jaunpur had a flourishing textile industry particularly of
 woollen carpets.²⁹⁸ Shahzabpur had paper and textile industry²⁹⁹
 Kasimbazar was famous for its textile industry which included
 for its textile cotton and silken stuffs manufacture.³⁰⁰
 Along with the silk bleaching industry over here.³⁰¹ In
 Murshidabad manufacture of silken cloth flourished.³⁰²

There all cities developed due to availability of raw
 materials. As in the east due to abundance of cotton and
 silk, textile industries flourished.³⁰³ Likewise, in Murshidabad,
 innumerable expert and cheap silk winder were available, thus
 causing in its growth as a silk manufacturing centre³⁰⁴.

297. Tavernier- Travels in India, Vol.I, p.89,II,p.3.

298. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.7.

E.F.R. Vol.I, p.192.

299. Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, p.98.

300. Manucci - Storia do Moger, Vol.II, p.97.

E.F.R. Vol.XI, p.62

Tavernier, - Travels in India, Vol.II,p92

301. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.4.

302. E.F.R. Vol.I, pp.194 & 229.

303. Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, pp.156 & 134.

304. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.889.

Cities like Agra, Ahmadabad, Delhi and Patna were the headquarters of the administration as well as of the commerce.

Agra, was one of the biggest commercial centres of India. Merchants from all parts of country used to come here. Thevenot says that merchants of different communities of the country like Banias, Christians, Muslims and Parsees used to come here from different parts, carrying on commercial transactions and furnishing it with variety of goods.³⁰⁵ It was the market for all sorts of articles and commodities.³⁰⁶ These included indigo, sugar, drugs and spices.³⁰⁷ for the use of foreign merchants for export. Manufacture of textile was the biggest industry of Agra. Large quantities of cotton, silken and woollen cloth was manufactured and exported.³⁰⁸

In lay work, coral work, metal and stone work flourished at Agra³⁰⁹ Pelsaert said, "The city contains all sorts of

305. Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.47, 50.

306. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.109.

Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.159.

307. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.424.

Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.292 & 293.
E.F.R. Vol.I, pp.73-76, 46, 160 & 161.

308. E.F.R. Vol.I, pp.46, 73, 93, VII, pp.6, 7, 76, 160, 161.
Bernier - 28, 188, 181 Travels in the Mughal Empire,
pp.292 & 293.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp.9, 19, 36.

309. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.9.

Thevenot - Indian Travels of Thevenot, p.55.

artisans in great numbers, who can imitate neatly whatever they see - - - - -³¹⁰

Dilli was the resort of Indian and foreign merchants³¹¹. Bernier describes it, markets being well supplied with all sorts of goods and there near a separate market for every commodity³¹². Textile, dyeing industries flourished here.³¹³

Metal Industry flourished³¹⁴ and goldsmiths, artisans, handicraftsman, painters, and engravers were busy with their trade.³¹⁵

Ahmadabad was the chief city of Gujrat and was unsurpassed as a commercial emporium.³¹⁶ Merchants used to

310. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.9.

311. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.180.
E.F.R. Vol.VI, p.134.

312. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.248 & 241.

313. E.F.R. VI, p.134.

Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.181.

314. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II, p.339.

315. Bernier - Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.254 & 255.

316. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.26.

Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.164.

assemble here from different regions. The foreign companies especially Dutch and English had founded their factories there³¹⁷. And the things that were not produced here were collected from other parts.³¹⁸ Saddles, furnitures, indigo, sugar, spices and drugs were produced in large quantities³¹⁹. Other commodities like sugar, opium, lac, ginger, salt peter, indigo and musk too were produced here.³²⁰

Except it, it was a centre of textile industry "particularly these are made abundance of silks and cotton skuffs".³²¹ Cotton cloths like chintz, quilts, callicos and cotton yarns were manufactured³²². Paper was manufactured here.³²³

317. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.22.

Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.12&17.

318. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.27.

319. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.72.

E.F.R. Vol.II, 211 Vol.IX, p.36.

De Laet - The empire of the Great Mogur - p.21.

Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, pp.26&27.

Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.72.

320. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.27.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.19.

321. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India, p.26.

Careri - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.164.

Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.3.

322. E.F.R. Vol.I, p.178, II, p.100, V, p.130, Vol.VIII, p.189.

323. E.F.R. Vol.I, pp.76 & 221.

Patna was one of the biggest town in whole of Mughal empire, very wealthy and offering every amenity.³²⁴ It was a great commercial centre. From English Factory Records it is apparent that it ^{was} near the cheapest market of the Eastern region.³²⁵ People collected from every part of Asia.³²⁶ The English and Dutch established their factories over here and Portugese and merchants from Bhutan came here in large numbers.³²⁷

It was the chief market of agricultural products including corn rice, sugar, indigo, cotton and various other spices.³²⁸

The chief industry of Patna was of textile³²⁹. Iron shields were manufactured and sent to Agra for sale³³⁰. Due to existence of gold mines in Patna, the industry for

324. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.140.

325. E.F.R. Vol.1, p.212.

Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, p.157.

326. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.140.

327. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.83.

E.F.R. Vol.1, p.195

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, pp. 8 & 9.

Travernier - Travels in India, Vol.II, p.143.

328. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri,p.46.

Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, pp.134,138,150,153,&156.

329. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.83.

Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, pp.140,41.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.7 & 8.

330. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.78.

purifying gold was also developed.³³¹

Except these big centres of trade and commerce, many other cities either emerged as the new commercial centres or the older ones remained with their old importance.

Multan was an old commercial centre and was famous for junction and of caravan routes,³³² livestock market³³³, spices, and drugs³³⁴ and excellent water communication³³⁵. In Multan a custom post was established and customs were realized on the exports and imports.³³⁶

Lahore was a great centre of trade³³⁷ and merchants from all over Asia used to come here.³³⁸

It was a flourishing market for agriculture commodities like spices and salt, indigo, sugar and drugs.³³⁹

331. De Laet - The empire of the great Mogur, p.77.

332. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.221.

333. De Laet - The empire of the Great Mogur, p.78.

334. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.I, p.315.

335. E.F.R., Vol.VI, p.135.

336. E.F.R., Vol.VI, p.135.

337. Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.30.

Terry - Early Travels in India, p.14.

E.F.R. - Vol.VI, p.135.

338. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.186.

339. Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.424.

Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.30.

Finch, Early Travels in India, p.30.

E.F.R. Vol.VI, p.135.

Thatta was a centre of great traffic.³⁴⁰ It was on the junction of caravan routes.³⁴¹ Leather was available here in abundance famous as Sindi leather, which was exported.³⁴² Textile industry, was the most flourishing industry of Thatta, Manrique says that at least there were two thousand looms.³⁴³ Pankaj chariots and boats were manufactured here.³⁴⁴ There was an iron mine in Thatta.³⁴⁵

Except these there were other cities of minor importance like Ferozabad³⁴⁶ Itimadpur³⁴⁷, Bareilly³⁴⁸ Benaras was a famous emporium for the products of Bengal.³⁴⁹

340. Thevenot Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.74 & 75.

341. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.77.
Pelsaert - Jahangir's India, p.32.

342. Manrique- Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.239.
Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.427.

343. Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II, p.238.
Manucci - Storia do Mogor, Vol.II, p.427.

344. Thevenot - Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, pp.75,76.

345. E.F.R. Vol.IX, p.118.

346. Peter Mundy - Travels, Vol.II, p.84.

347. Finch - Early travels in India, p.69.

348. De Laet - The Empire of the great Mogur, p.35.

349. De Laet - Empire of the great Mogur, p.65.

Finch too calls it to be a "principal mart of Bengala goods".³⁵⁰ It was a great market of textile goods and from these foreign merchants purchased large quantities of goods.³⁵¹ Manucci refers to about the export of its goods to many parts of the world."³⁵²

Baroda, too developed into a commercial centre. It was a town of great trade.³⁵³ It was the chief market of textile goods³⁵⁴. Here the foreign merchants, and factories were established and made large investments and purchased textile goods.³⁵⁵

350. Finch - Early Travels in India, p.66.

351. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I,p.118.

352. Manucci - Storia do Mogor - Vol.II,p.83.

Manrique - Travels of Fay Sebastian Manrique, Vol.II,p.147.

353. E.F.R. Vol.I, p.138.

354. Tavernier - Travels in India, Vol.I, p.138.

355. Mandelslo - Mandelslo's travels in Western India,p.16.

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